

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 123400

72

ORIGIN AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ADP-00 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 AID-20 EB-11 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /161 R

DRAFTED BY AF/PPS: JBLANE

6/23/73, EXT 20754

APPROVED BY AF: AMB WITMAN

AF: DDNEWSOM

----- 036375

R 231955 Z JUN 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 123400

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, FR

SUBJECT: BILATERAL TALKS WITH FRENCH ON BLACK AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: ASST SECRETARY NEWSOM AND OTHER MEMBERS OF AF BUREAU STAFF MET JUNE 20 WITH PHILIPPE REBEYROL, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA AND HIS DEPUTY, MICHEL COMBAL, TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST IN BLACK AFRICA. TALKS REVEALED LITTLE NEW IN FRENCH AFRICAN POLICY, WHICH REMAINS CENTERED ON CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH FORMER FRENCH TERRITORIES, ALTHOUGH THERE SOME EVIDENCE OF INCREASING FRENCH INTEREST IN BROADENING CONTACTS WITH ANGLOPHONES AND ZAIRE. FRENCH APPEAR READY MAKE CONCESSIONS IN REVISING COOPERATION ACCORDS DEMANDED BY MOST OF FRANCOPHONES, BUT THIS FLEXIBILITY APPARENTLY DOES NOT INCLUDE WILLINGNESS TO MAINTAIN AID LEVELS FOR COUNTRIES THAT MIGHT OPT TO LEAVE FRANC ZONE. FRENCH CONTINUE PLACE

HEAVY EMPHASIS ON EC ASSOCIATION AS " MAINTAINING HISTORIC TIES" BETWEEN AFRICA AND EUROPE AND CONTINUE INSIST ON  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 123400

IMPORTANCE OF REVERSE PREFERENCES WHICH GIVE AFRICANS CHANCE TO RECIPROCATE EUROPEAN FAVORS AND ARE THUS SYMBOLIC OF AFRICAN " EQUALITY."

2. INTRODUCTION: IN OPENING TALKS, ASST SECRETARY NEWSOM CALLED ATTENTION TO WHAT US SAW AS CONTINUING AFRICAN PROBLEMS: ( A) HORN: WE WELCOMED AFRICAN ( OAU) EFFORTS TO

HELP BRING ABOUT SETTLEMENT. NEWSOM ASSURED FRENCH WE MADE NO NEW PROMISES ON MILITARY AID TO ETHIOPIA DURING RECENT VISIT OF HIM; ( B) WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING TRAGEDY IN BURUNDI AND DESIRE ENCOURAGE EFFORTS TO END KILLING; ( C) SOUTHERN AFRICA: WE ANTICIPATE FURTHER MILITARY PRESSURE ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, PARTICULARLY GUINEA BISSAU, BUT WE THINK THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT BOTH PORTUGUESE AND AFRICANS MAY BE WILLING MAKE CONCESSIONS TOWARD EXPLORATORY CONTACT. PORTUGUESE WILLING TALK TO OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ABOUT FUTURE OF TERRITORIES BUT NOT YET WILLING TALK TO LIBERATION GROUPS. FINAL OAU COMMUNIQUE ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES DELETED PASSAGE ON NECESSITY ARMED CONFLICT, APPARENTLY WITH INTENTION OF KEEPING DOOR OPEN. PORTUGUESE HAVE ALSO BEEN FORTHCOMING IN HELPING ZAMBIA OVERCOME PROBLEMS BY CLOSURE RHODESIAN FRONTIER. SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS COMPLEX ISSUE, WITH ATTITUDE OF SAG RIGID. THERE SOME SLIGHTLY ENCOURAGING SIGNS IN DIRECTION MORE FREEDOM IN LABOR PROTESTS AND MORE INDEPENDENT ATTITUDE OF HOMELANDS LEADERS, AS WELL AS IN SAG RESTRAINT IN MEETING THESE CHALLENGES TO ITS AUTHORITY. NAMIBIA - WE WOULD LIKE SEE SYG INITIATIVE MAINTAINED; ( D) SINO-SOVIET PRESENCE: EXCEPT FOR SOMALIA AND SUPPLY OF ARMS TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVELY LITTLE SOVIET ACTIVITY DURING PAST YEAR. CHINESE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AID CONTINUES, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DRAMATIC NEW CHINESE DEPARTURES RECENTLY.

3. PASSING ON TO NEW PROBLEMS, NEWSOM NOTED US ATTENTION TO ( A) PROBLEMS OF SAHELIAN DROUGHT AND ASSURED FRENCH THAT WE WISHED BE RESPONSIVE TO THIS URGENT NEED AND TO PARTICIPATE IN REHABILITATION AND LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER DONORS, PARTICULARLY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 123400

FRANCE; ( B) THE ARAB EFFORT TO GAIN GREATER INFLUENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AT EXPENSE OF ISRAELIS AND ( C) MATURING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND EUROPE AND GROWING TIES BETWEEN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE AFRICA.

4. NEWSOM DESCRIBED US RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS GOOD WITH EXCEPTION OF CONGO ( B), WHERE ATTITUDE OF

GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO PRECLUDE REESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. OUR RELATIONS WITH GUINEA HE CHARACTERIZED AS " DIFFICULT BUT ADEQUATE". NEWSOM TOLD FRENCH OF HIS IMPENDING VISIT TO WEST AFRICA AND COMMENTED ON RECENT AND PROSPECTIVE VISITS TO THE US OF AFRICAN LEADERS ( MOST RECENTLY HIM AND TOLBERT).

5. REVISION OF FAC ACCORDS: REBEYROL NOTED THAT ONE NEW ELEMENT IN FRENCH AFRICA WAS GROWING TREND FOR FRANCO-PHONES TO ASK FOR REVISION OF COOPERATION ACCORDS WITH FRANCE. HIS GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THIS NATURAL WITH PASSAGE OF TIME AND WAS NOT DISTURBED. ALONG WITH MALAGASY REPUBLIC AND MAURITANIA, WHOSE ACCORDS ALREADY RENEGOTIATED, NIGER AND CONGO HAVE MADE FORMAL REQUESTS FOR CHANGES TO BE NEGOTIATED. GABON AND CAMEROON HAVE INDICATED THEY TOO WILL SEEK CHANGES BUT AS YET HAVE MADE NO FORMAL MOVE. SEVERAL COUNTRIES, ON OTHER HAND, HAVE MADE IT SPECIFICALLY KNOWN THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO SEE TREATIES MODIFIED. THESE ARE IVORY COAST, SENEGAL AND UPPER VOLTA. TOGO AND CAR HAVE SAID NOTHING.

6. FRANC ZONE: IT WAS CLEAR THAT MOST SENSITIVE POINT FOR FRENCH WAS FRANC ZONE. AFTER DECLARING THAT ONLY MAURITANIA AND MADAGASCAR WERE INTERESTED IN CHANGING MONETARY AND FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS, REBEYROL SAID THAT FRENCH AID WOULD NOT BE SO GENEROUS FOR COUNTRIES WHICH LEFT ZONE.

7. EC ASSOCIATION: FRENCH PLACED GREAT STRESS ON IMPORTANCE OF AFRICAN ASSOCIATION WITH EC FOR " MAINTAINING " HISTORIC TIES" BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA. THEY INSISTED THAT REVERSE PREFERENCES WERE PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPORTANT IN THAT THEY PERMITTED AFRICANS TO RECIPROCATATE EUROPEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 123400

FAVORS AND THUS BE ON EQUAL FOOTING WITH EUROPEANS. FOLLOWING TIME- TESTED FRENCH LINE, REBEYROL ARGUED THAT REVERSE PREFERENCES WERE NO BARRIER TO TRADE, SINCE THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATES COULD EXTEND THE SAME TREATMENT TO ANY TRADING PARTNER THEY WISHED.

8. OCAM: FRENCH SEE OCAM IN SLUMP AND SAY THAT SENGHOR IS SEEKING WAYS TO REVITALIZE IT. THEY FEEL THAT AS CONTACTS BETWEEN ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE AFRICA INCREASE OCAM WILL PROBABLY LOSE IMPORTANCE IN ANY CASE.

9. CEAO. REBEYROL SAID THAT SENGHOR'S ORIGINAL IDEA WAS FOR A GROUPING OF ALL WEST AFRICAN STATES, BOTH ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE, BUT THAT, BECAUSE OF DIFFERENT EXCHANGE

REGULATIONS, TRADE ASSOCIATIONS, ETC., IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE GOAL IN ONE STEP. THEREFORE, CREATION CEAO WITH ONLY FRANCOPHONE MEMBERS WAS ONLY FIRST STEP, TO BE FOLLOWED BY ADMISSION OF ANGLOPHONES AT LATER DATE. FRENCH PROFESSED TO DOUBT THAT INCHOATE BENIN UNION WOULD AMOUNT TO MUCH.

10. NIGERIA: FRENCH ADMITTED THAT SIZE AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF NIGERIA WOULD CAUSE PROBLEMS BOTH FOR EC

ASSOCIATION AND FOR CEAO. THEY SPECULATED THAT NIGERIA WOULD PROBABLY NOT JOIN EITHER BUT WOULD HAVE " SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS" WITH BOTH. FRENCH SAID THEIR OWN RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA WERE GOOD. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE FRANCO-NIGERIAN TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS WERE " FREE FROM BURDEN OF THE PAST" ( BIAFRA).

11. ZAIRE: FRENCH SEEMED PESSIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE OF MOBUTU AND NEAR TERM OUTLOOK FOR PROSPERITY AND STABILITY OF ZAIRE; COMPARED MOBUTU WITH AMIN AND SAID THEY FEARED RECRUDESCENCE OF RACISM. ( WE DISPUTED LATTER POINTS.)

12. GUINEA: PRINCIPAL PROBLEM BETWEEN FRANCE AND GUINEA IS FATE OF 22 FRENCH PRISONERS WHO HAVE BEEN HELD WITHOUT TRIAL FOR SEVERAL YEARS. AS LONG AS PRISONERS HELD, RELATIONS CANNOT BE REESTABLISHED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 123400

13. ARABS AND BLACK AFRICA: WHILE AGREEING ON QADHAFT' S HEAVY HANDEDNESS AS SEEN IN LIBYAN TACTICS AT RECENT OAU MEETING, THERE WAS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON NET RESULT. FRENCH THINK ARABS CAME OUT AHEAD, WHILE WE INDICATED THERE WAS EVIDENCE SOME BLACK AFRICANS RESENTED NOT ONLY TACTICS BUT APPARENT SUBORDINATION OF AFRICAN TO ME ISSUES.

14. HORN: FRENCH SAY SOMALIS HAVE STOPPED MAKING CLAIM TO TFAI BUT STILL INSIST THAT TERRITORY SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT.

15. SOUTHERN AFRICA: FRENCH SEE LITTLE CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM THAT SITUATION WILL CHANGE FOR BETTER IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THEY FAVOR EXTENSION SYG MANDATE ON NAMIBIA BUT THINK CHANCES POOR THAT AFRICANS CAN BE CONVIN(ED).

16. PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURE: WHILE WE STATED THAT OUR AFRICAN POLICIES ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES WERE SUBJECT TO PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES AND ATTITUDES, FRENCH DELEGATION INDICATED THAT FRENCH PUBLIC

LITTLE MOVED BY AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND ATTITUDES OF NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY WERE NO PROBLEM TO THEM.

17. DETAILED MEMCONS WILL BE POUCHED. RUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNNMAFVVZCZ

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:**  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 23 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** elyme  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE123400  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JBLANE  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** SECSTATE WASHDC  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730629/aaaajpol.tel  
**Line Count:** 231  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** elyme  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <19-Oct-2001 by elyme>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980226  
**Subject:** BILATERAL TALKS WITH FRENCH ON BLACK AFRICA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, FR, XA  
**To:** AF POSTS  
PARIS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005